

Industrial Democracy

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# American Appeal

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CHICAGO, JULY 23, 1927

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## Austrian Revolt Was Work of Communist Plotters

The Disciplined Solidarity of Socialist Workers Prevented Great Labor Disaster

The Austrian revolt, startling news of which has filled the dailies for a week, was the result of a Communist planned uprising made possible by the critical condition of many workers and by an extremely provocative act of injustice by a court under the reactionary Siegel government.

Never since the World War has the Austrian Labor Movement faced such dire peril as it faced for several days, but it met the situation magnificently. In response to call from the Socialist and trade union leaders the Austrian workers laid down their tools as one man from the Bavarian to the Italian borders in a general strike so complete that all industry, all lines of intercommunication, all newspapers and sources of reactionary propaganda were shut off for several days.

The strike was called to rescue the labor Movement from both the extreme right where an Italian and Hungarian invasion and a White Terror loomed, and the extreme left which held the menace of a dictatorship utterly impossible for Austria in its present situation and which could not result otherwise than in conditions such as exist now in Italy, Hungary and Roumania.

**Socialists Save Labor Movement**—The Socialist general strike has saved representative government in Austria, worker representation on its present basis in that government, the powerful trade union movement which is the most thoroughly organized in the world, the present gains of the labor movement, the great Austrian cooperative movement, the great body of Socialist legislation and the public enterprises and utilities established by the Socialists, and last but not least THE WORKERS MILITIA, WHICH IS ALLOWED TO BEAR ARMS WAS SAVED.

As a result of this wild and mad bid of a handful of Communists for

(Continued on page 3)

**Liberties Union Hits Communists**

For violently breaking up the recent Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting in Union Square, New York City, because they were not invited to participate, the Communists have brought down upon themselves wholesale condemnation from the Civil Liberties Union, the Sacco-Vanzetti Liberation Committee, the Socialist Party of New York and a large number of labor organizations.

After 10,000 workers had gathered and the meeting was proceeding in an orderly manner, Ben Gold, deputy leader of the furrier Communists, leading about 1,000 communist workers, attempted to force his way to the platforms and speak. Rioting resulted and the meeting was dispersed by the police.

A statement issued by the Civil Liberties Union reiterates the principle that a group of workers has a right to choose its own speakers and conduct a meeting as it elects to do, and that an attempt of an outside group to forcibly participate in a meeting of another group is a violation of civil liberties.

August Claesens, New York City Socialist Secretary, states that since the Union Square trouble the Communists have attempted to break up several Socialist meetings.

**French Communists Smash Labor Meetings**

PARIS—Communist bands armed with clubs and stilettos broke up a meeting in Marcellin of practically all the left elements in commemoration of Matteotti, according to La Liberté, Anti-Fascist Paris publication. Pietro Nenni, ex-editor of the former Italian Socialist paper, was wounded while attempting to speak. Other meetings have been similarly broken up in other parts of France by the Communists, including a Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration by an organized Anarchist group. All parties of the left in Marcellin are organizing to protect the right of free speech against the Communists.

**Eject Communist Chicago Disturbers**

CHICAGO—At a syndicalist meeting at Meldzia's hall here, a band of Communists tried to monopolize the time in criticizing the speaker thereby creating a fight which resulted in their forcible expulsion from the hall. The Speaker, A. Borghi, spoke on the subject, "What I Saw in Russia." The speech was generally favorable to Soviet Russia, but contained criticisms of present conditions in Russia. In the discussion that followed the speech, Communist speakers took exceptions to these criticisms and monopolized the floor for 40 minutes to the exclusion of others. This led to protests and a free-for-all fight in which the Communists were defeated and driven from the hall.

## Bombing Plane Massacre in Nicaragua

**Bankers Plot to Force Farmers Into Peasant Condition**

**Millions of Acres in Foreclosed Farms to be Colonized From Europe**

St. Paul, Minn., July 16.—Financial interests are discussing the formation of a \$25,000,000 corporation to take off bankers' hands land that was turned over to them by deflated and bankrupt farmers of the North.

It is hinted, says the Minnesota Union Advocate, that the scheme of the promoters is to get immigrants with low standards of living to come to the Northwest and buy these lands at high prices and work the rest of their lives for land speculators. To permit the entrance of these peasants it is proposed to urge changes in the immigration law.

Millions of acres of land were bought at high prices during the war and were mortgaged at the market price. When the farmers were deflated, and mortgages came due, the farmers figured it would be cheaper to relinquish their equity in the land than to pay off the mortgage.

In a majority of cases it was impossible for them to redeem the land, as the low prices they were getting for farm products and the high prices they paid for manufactured articles left them no surplus.

The farmers have been drifting to the cities, where they are competing with industrial workers, while the bankers are in possession of an enormous amount of unoccupied land that steadily declining in price and is wiping out the value of the security held for money lent.

With no interest coming in, and a constantly lowering of farm land values, says the Minnesota Union Advocate, the bankers are figuring how they can unload on European peasants.

**Have We Broken Off With Mexico?**

RAPID CITY, S. D.—President Coolidge's decision not to send an ambassador to Mexico in the near future was accepted here today as another notice that the administration does not take kindly to that country's foreign policy.

Ordinarily, resignation of any ambassador is not announced until his successor has been selected and leaving of such a diplomatic post for an indefinite period—as Mr. Coolidge has announced he will do—has aroused comment among those here who have followed the Mexican situation closely.

Furthermore, the decision was taken notice that there would be no weakness in the stern resistance of the administration to Mexico's constitution authorizing confiscation of American property there.

Developments in the situation are expected within a short time. There are no pending in Mexico courts protest suits of American oil companies against interpretation of the Mexican constitution which would permit that nation to recover oil and other lands owned or leased before the confiscatory provision was adopted.

While Mr. Coolidge has announced he has assurances from the Mexican ambassador personally that no further confiscatory proceedings will be undertaken at this time, there is a general feeling around the summer white house that the court decision may cause definite action upon one side or the other.

**Danish Socialist Disarm Bill Killed**

COPENHAGEN—The Disarmament Bill introduced by the late Socialist Government has been thrown out by the Senate. The coalition of the liberal Left and the Conservatives furnished thirty-nine votes against the bill, while Socialists and Radicals together produced twenty-four votes in its support.

The bill had been passed by the chamber in March of last year. It provided for a reduction of naval and military expenditure from sixty million to 17.5 million. Fortifications were to be removed, military service abolished and the army converted into a police force and a kind of frontier corps.

**Gov. Fuller Spurns Open Investigation For Sacco-Vanzetti**

**Victims of Class War in Grave Danger—Witnesses Call Probers Hostile**

BOSTON.—Defense Attorney William G. Thompson has failed in his efforts to have Governor Fuller's advisory commission open its sessions to the public. Fervently the governor and his advisors, separately are interviewing the streams of witnesses for and against the men, the jurors, Judge Webster Thayer, and former prosecutor Frederick G. Katzmann.

No one who has gone before Fuller or the commissioners will comment publicly, but some of the defense witnesses have complained of the hostility with which they were met. Former Judge Robert Grant of the commission has never hidden his animosity and said months before his appointment by Fuller that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty beyond question. His place on the commission now to question their guilt is considered anomalous by friends of the defense.

President Samuel Stratton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology has not openly so plainly against the two Italians, but is known to have been unfriendly before his appointment by Fuller. President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard is considered the most open-minded of the three advisors. But behind him are some of the country's wealthiest and most conservative men—overseers of the university.

**Fascism Bringing Economic Breakup of Italian Nation**

Says the current issue of International Information news bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International:

The news reaching us directly from Italy, and the official figures themselves confirms us in the belief that indeed the Italian Economic Crisis is growing more serious day by day.

At the end of March unemployment was standing at a level unchanged throughout the whole post-war period (allowing for a slight improvement relatively to February in consequence of the beginning of work on the land). There were 2,75,047 unemployed, and 61,659 workers occupied only two or three days a week.

It is needless to say that the arrest in production shown by the unemployment is at the same time producing a fall in the aggregate of national savings. In the first quarter of this year this decrease has already reached the figure of 8,000,000 lire reckoning the fall, carefully concealed, of the deposits in the great banks.

Bankruptcies, which in March were 94, numbered in April 842. And it is the banks which are crashing. The fall in the economy has been forbidden to refer, among other things, to the failure of the Goldschmidt Bank of Milan, whose liabilities appear to exceed 400 million lire.

The outlook cannot be viewed with optimism. The fall in export trade by comparison with last year, has gone on both in February and in March. And in regard to import trade, decline may be specially noticed in the flow of the commodities most vital to industry, such as cotton, iron and machinery.

Agricultural exports are less affected. But meanwhile the result of the "great" wheat campaign is that in the first quarter of this year there have been imported nearly 800,000 tons of wheat, as compared with 500,000, in round numbers, for the same quarter of last year. This year's wheat harvest promises very unfavorably in consequence of the drought and of a new parasitic disease of wheat which is forcing the farmers to reap it before it is ripe.

To sum up everything in a single figure, it is difficult to note that the bonds of the last "Littoria," issued at 67.50 are only in fact negotiated between a maximum of 70 and a minimum of 60.

Such a situation can only grow worse so long as fascism remains master, for the regime is fundamentally incapable of applying remedies to it. Economic phenomena cannot be righted by main force, whether by the cudgel, by castor-oil, or even by the threat of "administrative" confinement.

Geneva, Switzerland, is rapidly earning the right to be called the war center of the world.

**From The Pen Of Debs**  
(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

**When I Shall Fight**

Since my characterization of the soldier in the Jingo edition I have been asked, if I was opposed to all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier, and to fight under any circumstances, and to make my answer through the Appeal to Reason. No, I am not opposed to all war, I oppose it to fight under all circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed to war I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it. I am opposed to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would enter such a war.

If I were in congress I would vote for such a war.

Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there can be no compromise and no misunderstanding as to my position.

I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

I would not violate my principles for God, much less for a crazy Kaiser, a savage czar, a degenerate king, or a gang of pot-bellied parasites.

But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class also the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart full to shed for their victims when I shall be needed in the war for their liberation. I am a capitalist soldier, I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fight from the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class.

I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make necessary, even to the barricades.

There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war.

**Pan-American Labor Congress Convenes**

The fifth congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor is in session in Washington, D. C. As the Appeal forecast, there is only a partial representation from the Latin American countries on account of ill-feeling toward the United States over the conquest of Nicaragua. The countries represented by labor delegations are United States, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Porto Rico, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, Peru, Costa Rica and Salvador. Some of the labor delegations were virtually selected by American bosses governments.

It will be noted that among the countries conspicuous for their absence are Argentina, Chile and Brazil, the three countries that constitute the principles defended by the Party during the last war, and introduced into the Bill by its sponsor, M. Paul Bourque. These principles are: (1) The military machine is not to be used except in case of armed aggression by a foreign Power, and only after an appeal to arbitration has failed, and is not, in any event, to be used in civil disputes at home; (2) capitalist enterprises and property may be requisitioned by the State; (3) war profits to be abolished; (4) food supplies and distribution to be centralized; (5) Parliament to continue to function; (6) equality of all French citizens, male and female, in war-time.

The Party's representatives in Parliament are also instructed to oppose any proposal which might be interpreted as implying the militarization of women on the requisitioning of trade unions, and if guarantees are not furnished to the working classes on all these points, the Socialist group may vote against the whole of the Bill on its return to the Chamber.

While Coolidge is preaching one kind of disarmament in Geneva, he is practicing another kind in Nicaragua.

**Coolidge's Labor Board Is Open Shop**

The theory of "neutral" members of labor boards appointed by the President upon which the Watson-Parker arbitration law is based, has received another serious blow.

Calvin Coolidge's personnel classification board, which adjusts wages and conditions of government workers, talks like an open shop. Curiously refusing the appeal of the women's union of the bureau of printing and engraving for equal pay with men for equal work, the board declares it will deal "directly with the employer," and not with "outsiders."

The women have been organized for years in Local 105 of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

**French Socialists Reverse Stand On Conscription Bill**

**Rank and File Order Leaders to Fight Dangerous Draft Measure**

The French Socialist movement has ordered a complete about face of the French Socialist members of parliament on the question of the military conscription bill. The Socialist parliamentary group, which formerly supported this measure have been ordered by the National Delegate Council of the French Socialist Party to oppose the law.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## Farmers Move Forward

The farmers of fifteen states in convention at St. Paul have endorsed the principle of the Haugen bill. This principle of government control in financing the foreign marketing of the American agricultural surplus. This means that the farmers on a scale never dreamed of before have made up their minds to use their government in the economic field. They have taken a leaf from the book of the industrial and financial interests which have been built up by the most flagrant government favoritism. While present economic problems cannot be solved merely by private interests being aided by the government, even if such aid eventually should cover all private interests, it is a long step from the blatant individualism of a generation ago. Capitalistic theorists have to use government in the economic field. Socialization comes in spite of them. When socialization serves all the people instead of special and private interests it will be Socialism.

## The War Problem

While we must PREVENT the NEXT war world by every means within our reach, we should not forget that we cannot ABOLISH war as long as the present system continues. War is the basic and inseparable process of a competitive system. Under the competitive system war begins with neighboring grocery stores trying to undersell, undermine, or otherwise scuttle each other. It proceeds upward through every grade of industrial activity, including the eternal fight between capital and labor, until it finds its real expression in competition between nations and the military warfare that is an essential part of national competition. A world-wide cooperative system will abolish war between rival grocery-men, industrial classes and nations. Let's PREVENT war so that we can ABOLISH war.

## It Is As Long As It Is Broad

The United States still has an unprecedented outlet for its goods in foreign markets. In the last six months its exports exceeded the imports by \$240,758,000. The total figures for that six months are staggering. They are: exports, \$2,965,440,000; imports, \$2,727,975,000. American capitalism is in luck. It has this tremendous outlet for goods because of the post war troubles of other countries. So long as this situation exists American capitalist prosperity is not in immediate danger. But why should a Socialist worry? If this condition continues long, we will have Socialism in other countries soon and that will close the outlet and bring Socialism here, anyway. On the other hand, if the outside nations revive enough to take the greater part of our foreign market away from us, they will compel this country to socialize rapidly to save itself.

significance of what is happening in England. THE PEOPLE ARE SPREADING WITH THE AMAZING SPEED TO SOCIALISM.

The prospect of Socialist government in England soon is the cause behind rabid Tory action in China, raid of the Soviet embassy and execution of Communists in Peking, ousting of Russians from England, and severance of relations with Russia, the "Blackleg Anti-Labor Bill" and the move to put a House of Lords veto on all democratic legislation.

Capitalism is "democratic" as long as it is able to fool the people into upholding it with their votes. When mental hold on the people slips, its mask is off and we behold a tyrannical, murderous monster bent upon the armed destruction of all liberty and democracy.

## Playing Chess With Humanity

The four money kings of the world met last week in a secret conference in New York. The mystery, the whispering, the speculation, the kowtowing that surrounded this meeting gave it all the appearance of a meeting of the political bosses of the world at Geneva.

It is significant that power, both political and economic, has become so concentrated and so private that all its fundamental movements—its movements affecting most the largest number of the earth's inhabitants—are secret. Political diplomacy and economic diplomacy of world-wide import is always secret now. A few of the overlords of the earth meet behind well-guarded doors and play chess, using nations as pawns. War and peace, the fate of millions, is reluctantly decided by a few international political or financial dictators in Geneva or New York.

It was whispered that the money-dictators of the world at the meeting in New York met to decide questions of "stabilizing" conditions in Europe. That, of course, under present conditions, means that they have to save capitalism in Europe, which is tottering. To block progress. To drive Europe's millions back to an autocratic and entrenched system—back to poverty and slavery. These lily-fingered wielders of world dictatorship, who hold power by virtue of their control of money, that brings such a colossal and monstrous undertaking within the bounds of possibility, were governors Strong, Norman, Bristow and Schacht, respectively, central banking chiefs in the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany.

What kind of a world is this we live in, and what are you doing to help change it?

## Why This Secrecy?

The fact that Governor Fuller and his advisory commission are conducting the investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti in secret has an ominous look. Why this secrecy? Why, except to protect these members of the present regime in Massachusetts from possible future criticism?

An investigation conducted in the open might reveal facts that would practically force the governor and his judicial advisors to rule in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti. A secret investigation alone will allow them to make a politically expedient decision.

Political gangsters are bound together by common ties. A political scandal that would reflect on Judge Thayer's honesty and judgment—and on the justice of the Massachusetts courts or on the conduct, in this case, of the agents of the United States Department of Justice, would shake the foundations of the United States. And the Liberal Party of England is a capitalist party used by capitalism to confuse and divide the workers.

## Military Menace in U. S. Is Growing

(From the Chicago Tribune)

Applications for training in the various military training camps throughout the country have reached a total of more than 46,000, showing an excess of more than 10,000 over this time last year.

"The exceptional interest being taken in the camps this year makes it certain that just as soon as camp facilities are supplied there will be at least 100,000 youths in training every year," said Col. Noble Bradford Judah, civilian aid to the secretary of war for the 6th army corps area. "Ever since the foundation of the camps there has been a rapid increase in the number of applications coming in each year and there never yet has been enough room at the camps to take care of all the applicants."

## The Marxian Call

By Adrian B. Westerlund  
(Member Local Boise, Idaho)

The wrongs of toil are ages old. The fight for rights is long. Remotest history's pages hold A record of that wrong:

How wars were waged and captives led In chains to slavery; How Spartacus for freedom bled. How men fought to be free.

Until in modern times at last, Karl Marx stood forth to say The words that spell the doom of caste And herald a new day.

And burning bright, that beacon light, The Marxisan slogan stands;

A challenge to the foes of right, A sword for Labor's hands.

"Ye' workingmen of every land Awake! Exert your might!

"Join hands in one resolute band—

"Forever end the Master's reign; Combine, and claim your dues:

"You have a world that's yours to gain And only chains to lose."

Will some Appeal reader put this fine rendering of the famous slogan of Karl Marx to music and make a real Socialist song of it?

The Chicago Tribune recently carried a picture of a band of war-trained products of our citizens' training camps and labelled it "Sturdy Material for Our Next War." Our Next War buff sed.

The real question before the farmers and wage workers is the question of gaining control of the government and industrial system. Without this control the workers cannot institute any reform or change that will fundamentally better their condition.

The industrial profiteer and the commercial profiteer—IS BOUND TO

CONTROL THE THINGS THAT

## Warning!

Is your subscription expiring? Look at the number after your name on the little yellow slip on the front page. It will tell you: If the number after your name on the yellow slip is 83 OR ANY NUMBER LESS THAN 83 your subscription has expired.

If that number is less than 83, you have been delinquent as many weeks as it is less than 83. Renew at once, or you may miss your paper.

## Austrian Revolt Communist Work

(Continued from Page 1) power a thousand workers lie dead and maimed in Vienna.

As the Appeal goes to press, the situation is still unsettled and it may take almost any turn.

The story of this artificially pro-

moted uprising and the rescue of the

Labor Movement from a position of

extreme peril is fraught with tre-

mendous lessons for the workers.

Thursday

Last Thursday a reactionary Aus-

trian court sitting in Vienna freed

three soldiers accused of

murdering five workers in

Vienna.

But political action is just as nec-

essary for the farmers as it is for

the workers.

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moted uprising and the rescue of the

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Friday

At 7 o'clock Friday morning the

labor unions began calling their men

from work in the shops, factories,

government institutions and lines of

communication for a peaceful, silent

mass march parliament. More than

50,000 responded. The Socialist

party carried big headlines, "Miracle of Justice."

About 10 o'clock Communist agita-

tors appeared wherever the marchers

had broken ranks. Soon shouting,

stone throwing and free-for-all fight

with the police began and at 11 o'clock 300 police charged the crowd.

The crowd fled without resistance,

there was no bloodshed and the police

were withdrawn except around the parliament building.

From 11 o'clock until 2 the crowd

was virtually under Communist lead-

ership. During that period the palace

of justice was fired, two government

newspapers were sacked, munition

shops were plundered, every police

man found including those off duty

was beat up, barricades were erected

and public buildings razed.

At 2 o'clock reinforced police at-

tacked the crowds around parlia-

ment. They fired into the mass

without warning and rode into the

crowd trampling a score to death.

About 80 persons fell in the first on-

slaught. For five hours the police

charged and fired on everybody in-

cluding many non-participants in the

democratic movement in Austria.

Saturday

Saturday there was numerous bat-

teries day and night in Vienna, where

the Communists still had a large sec-

tion of the population.

The Communists had organized

themselves into a local committee

and had issued a manifesto.

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# Building The Labor Movement In America

Industrial Unionism, Social Idealism, A Labor Party, Urgently Needed to Meet the Present Crisis, Amalgamated Secretary Declares

## Editor's Note

The following article was received by the Appeal from Dr. Harry W. Laidler, our Feature Editor. It is part of a speech delivered by Joseph Schlossberg at the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. We regret very much that we are not able to give here this splendid address in its entirety.

M. E. K.

## Joseph Schlossberg

(Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America)

What is the labor movement to do in the face of the company union—open shop—and unorganized situation; a situation which is steadily becoming more desperate?

Let us not attempt to lay out a detailed program to meet all possible emergencies. That program must grow out from the actual experiences of the labor movement in its efforts to deal with the problem. This much, however, may safely be said: The trade union movement must free itself from the fetters of craft unionism, for this form of organization makes for waste, disunity and lack of confidence. One by-product of company unionism, not in the employers' reckoning, is the training that the worker is in position to receive in labor organization of efficiency. He may acquire the habit of his colleagues as fellow workers in the plant, not merely on the basis of craft or trade. The trade union must do at least that—build up that habit and spirit. When the unorganized worker is won by the union let him come into the labor movement, not into an industrial and spiritually detached group.

## Idealism Necessary

The campaign to organize the unorganized workers must be carried on with all the labor movement idealism possible. This point cannot be stressed too much. In the first place, this is the one field on which the company union is unable to compete with the legitimate labor union. In the second place, the eagerness for quick results on the part of trade union organizers too often tempts them to place the task of unionizing the workers on a "practical" business basis. Taking the cue from shrewd business promoters, those organizers tell the workers that by investing a small amount in union dues each week they will receive returns many times over in higher wages. The American workers, who, like the American business men, live in a get-rich-quick atmosphere, do really expect quick result. But a union must fight for higher wages, fighting equally for unity, suffering, self-sacrifice and the risk of defeat. There must be a cause to justify such fighting, and the cause must be clearly understood. This understanding can be obtained only through sound workers' education. Labor education, as distinguished from general education, is therefore essential for lasting labor movement success. The old slogan of Invest-and-Get Returns is demoralizing and makes the union's task a Sisyphean job. In the third place, the labor movement must approach the unorganized workers in a spirit of idealism, because there can be no real labor movement otherwise. Every mass movement must be imbued with the idealism of its own cause if it is to live and thrive.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is being pointed to as a model of a successful trade union, that would convey to them the spirit of labor's struggles and aspirations. He who will respond to such labor movement message will know what he is in the labor movement for and is more likely to be dependable. When the appeal is for quick results only, and on a six machine principle, a worker cannot be blamed for standing by his employer against the union if that seems to bring him better immediate results. If the appeal is for the high purposes of the labor movement, giving the workers a great and enabling social vision, including, of course, immediate betterment, the worker becomes conscious of higher and better self within him. With the labor movement rising to such heights, which it can do if it makes the effort, its possibilities are tremendous.

## A Living Wage Slogan Inadequate

Neither real idealism nor true realism can include such slogans as "a living wage," "a saving wage," etc. These slogans have outlined their usefulness if they ever had any. They are too vague to have any meaning at all. What is a "living wage"? One worker may be starved, another wage to another, depending upon the standard of living, which in point of material welfare, is the only true criterion. A "saving wage" is entirely misleading. The underpaid worker will make a much greater effort to save than his better paid colleague because of the greater fear of the future. The "saving wage" may represent tragic self-abnegation.

The labor movement must come to the workers with slogans of new hope, with an inspiring working class message; a message that would fire the imagination of the workers as workers, not as petty business men; all hope that the trade union movement will set up an independent poli-

tical party of labor. Its coming seems inevitable though no one can tell when. In that event it is not unlikely that the company union members, enlightened and encouraged by the educational work of the trade union, will give the labor movement enough to make our blood boil, or perhaps, freeze in our veins, depending upon one's temperament. This factionalism may solve the union's problems, by destroying the union, but it cannot solve the workers' problems.

## Build the Union First: Other Functions Follow

The question is asked, should the trade union take up unemployment insurance, labor banking, cooperative housing, etc., as means of promoting its work? There can be but one answer: Build up the union, and if it is numerically strong, and of good spirit and morale, it will have no difficulty in determining what new functions to assume. Labor banks are good, cooperative labor homes still better, but they do not build unions; unions build banks and houses. Did the Amalgamated originally plan banks, unemployment insurance, cooperative homes? It planned only the building up of the organization. The subsidiary institutions of later years did not make the Amalgamated the Amalgamated made them. The strength of the labor movement secures the safety of those institutions, but their strength cannot secure the safety of the union. The union must take care of itself.

## The Bane of Factionalism

One of the best organized and most progressive internationals in our trade union world inaugurated a system of unemployment insurance, established a labor bank and under-

## Stay By the Labor Movement, Despite its Faults

Many of us have serious grievances against the labor movement: it has no social philosophy or vision; it leaves political power entirely in the hands of labor's enemies by opposing independent political action by the unions; it refuses to adjust its form of organization to the changed and changing industrial conditions, and thereby keeps the organized workers divided; at this late day it is still in the devitalizing Civic Federation state. But with all of its grave faults it is the labor movement; we are part of it. We cannot have our own private labor movements to suit our individual tastes and desires. The labor movement is what it is, and we can change it only as we can, not as we wish to. Some groups of workers have good organizations, enjoying industrial protection. There we may find opportunities for higher labor movement activities, which may include labor education, efforts toward a political party and assumption of new responsibilities. But there are not many such groups. In most industrial groups the unions are weak, or do not exist at all. Our efforts must be concentrated on building them up, building up the labor movement. In the past thirty years labor movement factionalism has produced no constructive results, but its social teachings of industrial unionism have taken root. No serious minded person in the labor movement opposes that principle. It is recognized as useful even if not frequently applied. This is one more reason for allowance for all exceptions, the kind of officers that they want.

## U. S. Farmers Must Organize Or Become Permanent Peasants

### Editor's Note

The following article comes from our Feature Editor, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, and is part of an address by Carl Taylor, dean of the North Carolina Agriculture College, at the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. The speaker corroborates the position of the American Appeal that the thing that is the matter with American agriculture is American industrialism or capitalism which has seized control of the government and has imposed marketing, price-fixing, tariff and tax policies beneficial only to the industrial and financial owners and detrimental to the farmers' interests. The remedy is along the lines advocated by the Appeal, though not so distinctly and radically expressed.—LET THE FARMERS ORGANIZE ALONG WITH OTHER WORKERS FOR INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE SYSTEM.

M. E. K.

**By Carl Taylor**  
(Dean of the North Carolina Agricultural College)

The economic returns from farming are low, calculated on the basis of the 1909 to 1914 index. The price the farmer receives for his commodity is only 81 per cent of what others receive for theirs. In other words, it takes about 5 units of farm goods now to pay for what 1 unit paid for in 1914. Or to turn the proposition around, others can buy his goods now for about four fifths of what they could in 1913. It is true that farm costs dropped after 1920, but it is true also that farm prices dropped almost twice as far.

The American farmer is getting deeper and deeper in debt. Farm mortgage indebtedness has increased about 150 per cent in the last fifteen years and is now equal to about forty per cent of the value of the mortgaged property. Most of the mortgages are held by city enterprisers and thus farm equity is slowly slipping into the hands of others than farmers. The percentage of total national wealth represented by the agricultural plant has fallen from around 30 per cent to less than 20 per cent in the last 30 years, and agriculture receives now only 10.2 per cent of the total "current income" of the people in the United States. In 1918 it was receiving 23.9 per cent. Farm bankruptcies increased from 15.5 per cent hundred thousand in 1919-1920 to 123 per cent hundred thousand in 1924-1925. The capital standing of those who farm is growing more precarious each year. Farm properties lost about 18 per cent of their exchange values between 1913 and 1925.

During the period from 1914 to 1925 the gross farm income increased only about 100 per cent while farm property taxes increased 230 percent. Due to the fall in equity value in farm lands it took over 30 per cent of the net cash income of farms in 1925 to pay interest charges after other expenses were paid.

In the face of these facts it is not surprising to learn that rural standards of living are lagging and shrinking, rural population is being depleted and agricultural discontent is wide spread.

**A Rapid Survey of Our National Economic Policy in Relation to Agriculture**

I take it that all of you are aware that our tariff program was not inaugurated and is not now maintained as a stimulus to agriculture. It not only fails to increase the prices of our great agricultural commodities but very distinctly increases many artificial relationships between the general status of agriculture and industry. It began with the fight between Hamilton and Jefferson, the former representing the manufacturing interests and the latter represent-

## The Crux of the Problem and the Attempt to Solve It

We do and always must depend upon farmers to produce the chief food, clothing and shelter products to support the whole population of the earth. We seem, however, to have reached a situation where we are renouncing them so poorly for performing this task that many persons tell them their only salvation is to quit. The drift to the city, which is described by some as the greatest tragedy of civilization, is encouraged by others. Both these groups are friends of the farmer and if he listens to them both he is in a dilemma indeed.

The farmer's task in society at large is to grow raw products to feed and clothe the world. In order to do this adequately there is none too many farmers. His task as seen from his own viewpoint is to feed cloth and shelter his own family and in addition to this to guarantee them opportunities for health, education, recreation and community life.

In order to do this he must collect more dividends out of the markets to which he sells his raw products. We are back to the dilemma—how can he produce enough to make it possible for others to live satisfactorily and how can he collect enough from others to guarantee a satisfactory life for himself?

Does this dilemma resolve itself into the idea of starving himself just a little more in order that others may live. I believe not. It is a problem of the priesthood and the economic and social theories growing out of it. I mean that in some way, probably by economic education and economic group organizations, the farmers of the nation must put themselves into a position where they can know the "mysteries of the pecuniary calculus" as well as the mysteries of soil and seed. They must place themselves in a position to reap the same sort of reward that corporate business has accomplished by a theoretical, if not an actual, separation of production technique and money making.

The Agrarian Movement is parallel to the labor movement and to the industrial revolution. The growing class consciousness and multiplied economic groups, non-partisan, political activities and bureaucratic organization of farmers would seem to be enough to indicate the similarity of the Farmer's Movement to the Labor Movement. The rapid and drastic transformation which is taking place in farm operations, particularly in the conduct of farm business, suggests a similarity to the industrial revolution in other fields. The difference in that it was the advent of power machinery and the mobilization of capital which ushered in the industrial revolution, while it is the application of merchandising to farm commodities and the mobilization of farm credit which is ushering in the agrarian movement. Wages and hours were the needed adjustments in the industrial revolution. Prices and markets are the needed adjustments in the agrarian revolution.

## Industrial and Political Action

May I conclude by saying that while I have no intention of being a "calamity howler" I thoroughly believe that American agricultural civilization is at the cross roads. It has gravitated to such a position as it now holds because of two great historic processes; first, because of the natural evolution of economic society, based upon a division of specialized functions and operating by means of a price and market system; and, second, because of the so called "American" Economic Policy of artificially stimulating industry that has handicapped it in relation to other economic enterprises. The first of these processes can be controlled by the necessarily cruel method of the survival of the fittest and many are suffering in the conflict.

## Furthermore, the Increased Efficiency of the Farmer himself, due to the use of scientific and machinery during the last hundred years,

has been very marked, making possible the production of a much greater volume of farm products with practically no increase in farm labor force.

American farms are producing more in annual products than at any previous time. American farmers are producing more per man than any population on earth. Furthermore, they are producing more per acre than any previous generation of American farmers has ever produced.

With a greater gross production, a greater per capita production and a greater per acre production of the very foodstuffs which the world needs most, it is a peculiar situation indeed that the farm standard of living should be consistently and perpetually below that of the city. Is the solution to such a situation to let farm production lay until the population of the world cries for food and cries in terms of higher prices.

If I believed that our present price system worked by divine fiat, I would say yes. But having no such belief I am inclined to believe that other solutions can be found.

## Are Our Farmers Becoming Peasants

### (From the Progressive Farmer)

Is the American farmer to become a peasant? If the sons of farmers continue to fill the vacuum of the cities due to restricted immigration; if the wealthier farmers and prosperous men from the cities continue to buy great tracts of land and set up industrial units of the farms, there may be a new form of feudalism which may secure a reasonable return for farm products. That would mean the slow disappearance of the millions of free, "independent" farmers, such as Jefferson imagined when the Republic was created. If the farmers become peasants, the wide "foreign districts" of the cities will hardly escape a similar lot. Is that to be the outcome of "free lands for all," of free speech and self-government, of that fine program of democracy which has been held out to the under-dogs of Europe? If history has any lessons for men, it offers this warning and remonstrance.

Is it peasantry for the farmers and feudalism in the world of industry and business? Southern men and Western leaders might well take stock of their resources and seek a new deal in the politics of the time. But Southern men and Western leaders won't do it; their fathers fought on opposite sides in the Civil War!

## Landless Farmers

America is developing a real proletarian of the soil—the landless tenant farmer class. These non-working farmers represent just as fruitful field for the Socialist movement in the future as the industrial workers of the cities. They get no income from ownership, have no own interests and like the industrial worker get their entire income from labor.

This class is surprisingly large in this land of "freedom and opportunity." In 1920 it constituted 38.1 per cent of all farmers. In 1925 38.6 of all American farmers were tenants. THIS MEANS THAT NEARLY TWO FARMERS OUT OF EVERY FIVE ARE LANDLESS WORKERS. There are a little over 6,000,000 farmers in the country representing about 30,000,000 men, women and children. About 2,400,000 farmers are real proletarians and represent a class of rural proletarians numbering about 12,000,000.

Proletarian in its modern significance means propertiless. The existence of such a large propertiless class of workers on the farms means THAT THE PROLETARIAN CLASS IS REALLY IN THE MAJORITY IN THE UNITED STATES NOW. This class and the other elements in the country and in the cities of America closely related to it by practically common burdens and conditions, constitute an overwhelming majority and a great field for Socialist education in the future.

The Chicago Daily News has been running a series of articles showing how girls can work and do work in Chicago, for \$12 a week and have a surplus left. That's the idea. Get the workers down to \$12 a week and a surplus and then get that surplus.

Socialism is nothing in the world but democracy extended over the field of production and distribution, as well as government. We have never found any one yet who could present a valid argument against this idea. The moment our opponents begin to argue, they get red in face and begin to shout "centralization," "bureaucracy," "state slavery" and a lot of other bunk that the Socialists do not believe.

Chang Tsao-ling tried to gain favor with the American senator, Bingham, by telling the latter how many Communists he had murdered. This Chinese barbarian seems at least to have learned the nature of capitalist psychology.

## MORE REASONS FOR U. S. CONTROL OF THE CARIBBEAN

### Note

The following article appeared in a recent issue of the Chicago Tribune on the financial page.—Headlines by Tribune headliner—Words by Harper Leach, expert purveyor of capitalist ideas.—Music by the Marine band with machine gun and bombing plane accompaniments.

The geology of the countries about the Caribbean sea is coming to reinforce the other considerations which make it dangerous and absurd for the United States to continue a supine acquiescence with regard to the strategic domination of the American Mediterranean by European powers.

As soon as we begin serious conservation policies in this country to get the most out of our oil and gas reserves, by a policy of scientific and steady production as contrasted to the present explosive and wasteful gusher process, we will add to our own conservation policies the determination to have and use our rightful share of the oil of non-industrialized countries.

Our share lies in the western hemisphere—we need not go to the Caspian, the Persian gulf or the Spice islands to get ours.

The average inhabitant of America, who is constitutionally inclined to denounce Britain for holding the doors of the Mediterranean with Gibraltar, Malta and Port Said, is the same sort of an American who denounces any plan for American control of the Caribbean.

It might seem strange, but it is to the student of every-day group psychology. The views as to world policies entertained by many individuals are inevitable and predictable. As a pacifist really hates warriors rather than war, so your conventional anti-imperialist really dislikes industrial and political capability—it gets that way.

## JAPANESE WORKERS GET READY FOR FRANCHISE

TOKIO—The coming of general manhood suffrage in Japan, scheduled for 1928, has proved an immense stimulus to the labor and radical movements both in the cities and among the peasants. In spite of the many splits in the trade union federations and political labor parties, activity has become intense. The study of Marxian and radical texts is going on to an extent second only to Russia. Recently 37 Japanese students were jailed for 1 year because of spreading what is officially known as dangerous thoughts, that is, radical doctrines.

Organized labor is divided into 8 principal bodies. The 4 conservative groups are the General Federation of Japanese Labor, founded in 1919, which now has 30,000 members; the Federation of Naval Workers with 45,000; the Japanese Seamen's Union with 45,000; and the Federation of Workers in Government Undertakings with 13,000—total of 133,000.

The 3 moderately advanced bodies are the Natl. Federation of Trade Unions with 15,000 members which seceded from the General Federation in 1926; the Union of Tokio Municipal Tramwaymen with 12,000, and the Liberal Workers and Peasant Party of Japan.

The United States naval militarists at the "disarmament" conference in Geneva are putting up a brave front against the British and Japanese to keep the 8-inch gun on cruisers instead of the 6-inch gun. Now we begin to understand what Coolidge means by disarmament.